

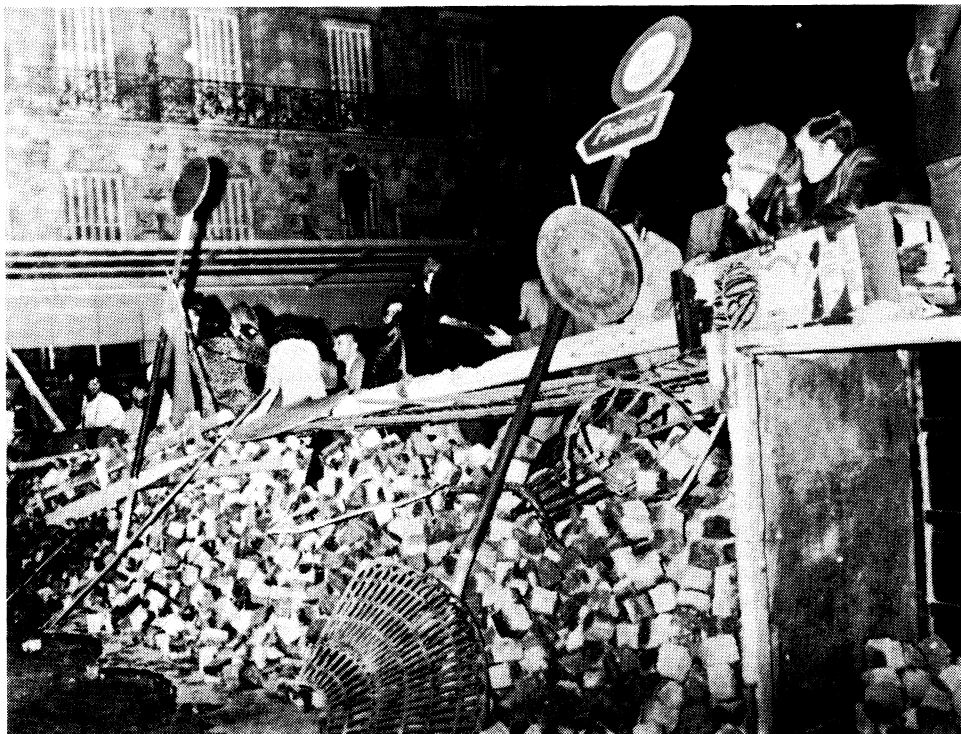
THE MILITANT

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STUDENT BARRICADE. Demonstrating French students erected barricades in Paris streets in tradition of their revolutionary forefathers.



WORKERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS MARCH. Giant demonstration in Paris streets, as unions joined students and backed their demands.

De Gaulle Faces Political Crisis; French Workers Back Students

The giant demonstration of 1,000,000 workers, students and teachers in Paris May 13 has touched off a political crisis in France that may well spell the beginning of the end for the de Gaulle regime.

The sudden turn in the political situation in France has incalculable consequences not only for that country but for all of Europe, including the East European countries and the Soviet Union. By rallying to the side of the beleaguered students and advancing their own demands, the French workers have given new impetus to the student movement throughout the world. It has been shown in life how it is possible to bring into action the mightiest of all social forces, the working class—and despite the restraining influence of an ossified labor bureaucracy.

In hope of turning the tide of events, which threaten to shake the capitalist structure in France, General de Gaulle is to address the nation May 24. What he will say has not

been indicated.

Meanwhile, his lieutenants, who bear the responsibility for the day-to-day running of the government, have been oscillating between the use of the most brutal force against the rebellious students, sudden concessions and renewed threats of violence, implied above all by the mobilization of the armed forces.

In a nationwide broadcast May 16, Premier Georges Pompidou blamed the developments on a handful of "troublemakers" and appealed to the students throughout France not to follow "the provocateurs . . . listen to the voice of reason."

His fear over what may be developing right now in France was indicated in his charge that the "troublemakers" were out to "destroy the nation and the very foundations of our free society."

The Paris correspondent of the New York Times interpreted the speech as follows:

"Mr. Pompidou's statement disclosed that the Gaullist Administration, like many private citizens, is convinced that a truly revolutionary situation exists and that the democratic institutions of France are threatened."

"The principal threat lies in the spontaneous, popular and utterly uncontrolled nature of the movement, which was started by a handful of New Leftists but then was joined by hundreds of thousands of students and more recently by thousands of workers."

"The movement unleashed forces that neither the Government nor the traditional Opposition parties seemed equipped to handle."

The Communist Party bureaucracy, obviously frightened by the specter of being suddenly outflanked from the left and of being unable to gain control of the upheaval so as to be able to bargain it away, echoed the appeal of Premier Pompidou.

In a "balance sheet" of the May 13 general strike and demonstration, the Political Bureau talked about the possibility of "provocation" being organized by the government.

It added: "The Political Bureau warns the workers and students against any adventurist slogans capable, under present conditions, of disrupting the broad front of struggle that has been constituted . . ."

The fears of the Gaullist regime and the Communist Party bureaucrats have a very real basis. The day following the general strike, workers in Nantes occupied an aircraft plant, welded the plant gates, and took the plant manager and his aides under custody until their demands for a wage boost were met.

By the next day six more plants were occupied by striking workers, including four

nationalized Renault plants. A thousand students were reported marching from the Latin Quarter of Paris to one of the plants, saying they intended to sit in with the workers.

In the area around the Sorbonne, the scenes were reminiscent of the opening stage in revolutionary upheavals of the past in France. Students, including hundreds of persons flocking to the Latin Quarter, were taking over buildings in which to conduct continuous meetings with speaker after speaker taking the floor to voice his opinions.

There was no exclusion at all as to political tendency. Nor were there any time limits. Debate was proceeding in completely free style over what the next objectives should be.

The militant wing of the students, which is in the ascendancy, has appealed for the formation of "Committees of Action," which would include all political tendencies, and these appear to be taking shape, at least in the Latin Quarter in Paris.

The mood of the students was indicated by

the fiery speech given by Daniel Cohn-Bendit (nicknamed "Danny the Red") at the assembly point for the giant march on May 13. In the name of the March 22 Movement of Nanterre, where the current upsurge began, he said: "There's only one way to struggle against a capitalist regime and that's by direct action in the streets." He added: "A general strike is not a supporting instrument, but a class instrument to overthrow capitalism."

He appealed to all those participating in the demonstration to organize Committees of Action and to organize them by districts and factories. He also announced the projected formation of a "People's Tribunal to put the police of the state on trial."

The great new perspective opening up for the students was well summed up in the red banners being carried by the contingent of 1,000 marching to the Renault plant in Paris:

"The workers will take from the fragile hands of the students the standard for the fight against the antidemocratic regime."

Bomb—Arson Attempt Is Thwarted at L.A. SWP Headquarters

LOS ANGELES—A fire was started here and an attempt was made to set off a bomb at Forum Hall while a public forum was in progress May 10. The fire was put out before it spread and the bomb was discovered and defused.

The headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party is in Forum Hall, and it is currently the campaign center for the Socialist Workers presidential ticket and for John Gray, SWP nominee for Congress in the 29th District. The arson and attempted bombing occurred during a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum, where Max Goldman of the Socialist Workers Party was speaking on the current developments in Eastern Europe.

Smoke was noticed and a pile of burning papers discovered in the hall's bookshop area. It was stomped out. A further search uncovered a plastic material with what appeared to be a fuse and blasting cap. Although it was defused the police refused to remove it, sending the bomb squad to do so.

A statement by John Gray declared the incident part of the pattern of attempted terror by right-wing forces against dissenting groups. He made it clear that the Socialist Workers would not be intimidated by such attempts.

U.S. Presses War Aims In Vietnam Negotiations

By Joseph Hansen

The "peace" talks between the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Johnson administration opened in Paris May 10 amid scenes which every revolutionist in the world must have savored.

De Gaulle's police had opened a virtual civil war against the students. The streets in the Latin Quarter were blocked with barricades in the great tradition of revolutionary struggles in France. And the brutality of the police, instead of suppressing the rebellious students, succeeded only in setting off a chain reaction that brought the phalanxes of the powerful French working class into the streets in the mightiest demonstration since the end of World War II.

On May 13 when the Hanoi and Washington delegations sat down to make their opening moves, Paris was shut down tight by a general strike, and a million or more workers and students were marching together, roaring their slogans not many blocks from the conference hall.

The scenes in Saigon at the same time were not much better from the viewpoint

of the White House. Vietnamese freedom fighters were still fighting in the city after days of conflict. Such a point had been reached, in fact, that the American command had found it necessary to apply their famous tactic of destroying the city to save it. Within a few blocks of the business district, American fighter planes and helicopters went about this methodically, dumping napalm and high explosives on the "enemy."

Moreover, the new political offensive opened by the Vietnamese freedom fighters and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam appeared to be making headway.

Dispatches from Saigon indicated that the Thieu-Ky puppet regime was facing perhaps "the gravest crisis to date" as peripheral elements shifted toward the "Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces" set up as a possible transition toward an opposing government.

In addition to this, the White House and Pentagon had to bear in mind their deteriorating domestic situation, with opposition to the war rising by leaps and bounds, with the black liberation struggle mounting in

(Continued on page 8)

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Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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A Racist Trap for Teachers

The officials of the United Federation of Teachers in New York are once again leading the union into head-on conflict with the black community. This reactionary course is damaging to the black struggle and the union itself. During the teachers' strike last September, UFT President Shanker put the union in the position of fighting against the black community over the question of black control of the black schools, and this is the same issue in the current dispute.

Last summer, the Board of Education and Mayor Lindsay set up "experimental" school districts to "test" school decentralization plans. Through some such plan, Lindsay hopes to give the appearance of sympathizing with the demand for black control of black schools, without actually acceding to such control. Under the "experiment," local school boards were set up in a number of communities, including the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, a predominantly black area.

These local boards were not granted real power over the schools.

To back up the demand for real control of the schools, parents in this area staged a highly successful boycott of the schools last month. In Junior High School 271, scene of the sharpest confrontations in the past few days, the boycott was 100 percent effective. Signs posted on the entrance gates of JHS 271 read, "Closed by the PTA," "We want to control our schools" and "We want our children educated."

In the face of this massive display of sentiment in favor of community control, the UFT misleaders placed a large ad in the New York Times, denouncing "decentralization" as "apartheid" and warning of "chaos" and the transformation of the schools into "maelstroms of ideological and emotional conflict."

On May 9, the local community board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville began to exercise some of the control the community ought to have and dismissed 19 teachers, requesting that they be transferred to other schools. Shanker immediately attacked the local board and threatened to use the union power against the black community. Deliberately twisting the issue inside out, he asserted that the question "was whether white teachers had the right to teach in black schools."

Shanker solidly backed up the Board of Education, which began to demagogically fume about the "usurpation" of power by the local board and threatened to call in the cops. Another UFT ad appeared in the Times, demanding that Lindsay "act" against demonstrating parents (whom Shanker referred to as a "mob"). The parents had kept five of the dismissed teachers out of JHS 271. The same day the ad appeared, Lindsay did "act," sending the cops to JHS 271. Shanker also charged Lindsay with being soft on black power "extremists."

The spectacle of Shanker lining up with the racist cops, Board of Education and the city government, the real enemies of the union, against the black community, illustrates the dangerous and reactionary nature of the course Shanker has charted for the UFT.

The real issue is not "whether white teachers have the right to teach in black schools." The question is whether the black community will win the power and control to ensure a decent education for black children. For the fact of the matter is that black children are given an inferior and racially warped education under the present racist setup, in which the schools in the black community are controlled from without.

The fight for black control of the black schools is part of the more general struggle for black control of the black community, for the right of black self-determination. Black self-determination is not "apartheid" or "segregation," which are conditions of oppression imposed upon a people, but the exact opposite: black self-determination means black people achieving full democratic control over their own lives.

For the union to fight against black control of the black schools places it in the camp of the oppressors of the black people—in support of the same system and government against which, in defense of teachers' rights, the union itself was organized.

In addition to splitting black and white teachers in the union, Shanker's policy is causing a split between the union and the black community. This fact will return to plague the union the next time it finds itself in conflict with the city in defense of teachers' rights.

If the union instead took the opposite course of supporting the demand for black control of black schools, it would not only help the black struggle but win a powerful ally in its own fight with the capitalist government. The situation in the classroom would change, too, as black students saw their teachers not as cops representing the system that oppresses them, but as allies.

Shanker's present course will only exacerbate racist attitudes among the white teachers and lead to further conflicts with the black community—which will severely harm the union. It is to be hoped that the growing power of the black community will provide the teachers with a few salutary lessons and thereby help speed a change in union leadership and policy.

D.C. Students Close Merrill Lynch

The Student Strike in Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C.

Students from more than a dozen schools in the District of Columbia and Maryland gathered here April 26 to take part in the Student Strike and march against the Vietnam war and American draft.

Meeting at the public library, the students marched to the local draft board where they demonstrated for 45 minutes and then proceeded to march through downtown Washington, chanting "End the war, end the draft now!" Marching into the office of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, the demonstrators interrupted trading for 20 minutes until local police evicted them.

Total student involvement was estimated at over 3,000—ranging from demonstrations at individual schools Friday morning to the mass march Friday afternoon. Two Maryland high school students, Steven Malakoff, 16, and Susan Arshack, 15, were arrested April 26 for carrying signs reading "Peace is Patriotic" in front of their schools. Both were charged with a breach of the "peace."

P. S.

Black student leader arrested in Penna.

Lancaster, Pa.

Brother Sam Jordan has been arrested by Lancaster police. He is a student at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster and is past president of the school's Afro-American Society.

He is being held on four charges with bail totaling \$32,000. He was arrested at 2:42 a.m., Friday, May 10.

Money is urgently needed to cover Sam Jordan's bail and legal defense. We cannot give out more information at this time for fear of jeopardizing Sam's legal defense. We will send more information as soon as possible.

Students for a Democratic Society at Franklin and Marshall and other groups are aiding in fund raising. Contributions are urgently needed. Contributions should be sent to:

Sam Jordan Defense Fund, c/o Students for a Democratic Society, Box 148, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 17604.

Checks can be made payable to Franklin and Marshall Students for a Democratic Society.

Christian Eaby
F&M SDS

Judging Johnson

Sherman, Tex.

A recent Associated Press report states: "Many newspaper editors think history will judge Lyndon B. Johnson as a good president and, if he succeeds in settling the Vietnam War, perhaps even a great one."

We assume that in a democracy we are free to disagree with these editors of the great-society establishment. This being true, we wish to state that regardless of future happenings in Vietnam or the USA, LBJ is less than mediocre.

The following paragraphs from a

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

by
George Breitman

25 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

current weekly publication on world affairs are much more realistic and true to facts than the political hearsay with which we are bombarded at all hours of the day and night:

"Yet neither Fate nor Destiny has anything to do with what is happening today in the United States. The root of the trouble lies in the policy and ideology of American imperialism, saturated with contempt for man, and predicated on brute force and terror.

"Immediately after King's assassination, President Johnson issued a dramatic radio and TV appeal to reject 'blind violence' which, he said, can achieve nothing. These words might have carried more weight had they been spoken by anyone but President Johnson, whose government has made armed violence its official policy in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world by assuming the functions of world policeman.

"His words might have carried more weight had they not come from a man who has on more than one occasion in past months publicly threatened to resort to every means to suppress the Negroes who are battling for the right to live like human beings."

E. T.

American agraria

Seattle, Wash.

New government figures show us the destruction of the small farmer. We are now told that the majority of farmland in the U.S. is owned by absentee landlords. Thus, the majority of farmland is owned not by farmers, small or large, but by absentee bankers.

Joe Johnson

National death wish?

San Francisco, Calif.

The preoccupation with birth control in America is a manifestation of a national death wish. Approximately two years ago in the Nation there was an article by a scientist which claimed that if America were to divert its advanced technology into the production of food instead of more and bigger and faster machines, this country could comfortably support 10 times as many people as it does now.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S. F. 94114. (415) 522-1632.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

DELAWARE: Lloyd Summers, Box 559, Dover, Del. (302) 674-9842.

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 872-1612.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, Michael Hanagan, 56 Townsend. (217) 332-4285.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, 4300 Springdale Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201 (313) TE 1-6135.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin

Letters From Our Readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Yet hordes of reformers rush around shouting, "Curb the production of babies." Apparently no one has the courage to say "Curb the production of automobiles." Why? Because we are a nation of money worshipers, and industrial growth provides quicker and surer profits than agriculture.

Apparently no one, except a few "do-gooders"—such as the socialists, really cares that millions of children are living on the edge of starvation.

Can hungry people eat steel or slake their thirst with gasoline and machine oil? In California, more than 200 acres of good agricultural land are being paved over every day to prepare for the coming of the American god—industrial growth.

Traveling through the Southwest, one sees hundreds of square miles of desert in which there is almost no human life, because it is not arable.

Yet, as has been shown in the Imperial Valley in Southern California, if the government is willing to spend a few million dollars a year—say half as much as it spends in Vietnam—on irrigation and fertilizer, much of the desert could be transformed into rich agricultural land and could probably support millions of people where only a few dozen live now.

America is rushing towards self-destruction because, under our economic system and in our national philosophy, machines and the money they represent are more important than human life.

D. R.

Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French, 272 Lark St., Albany 12210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Rick Wadsworth, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs 45387. (513) 767-7862.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, James E. Gardner, 607 W. 31-1/2 St. (512) 454-6143.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, Tana Hicken, 15 7th St. N.E., 20002. (202) 546-2092.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: YSA, Ann Montague, 5223 Dryden Hall, Cheney 99004.

Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105. (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

Socialists Gained Ground From CHOICE 68 Drive

By Doug Jenness

With 90 percent of the returns in for the CHOICE 68 National Collegiate Presidential Primary held at 1,400 campuses on April 24, Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, received 23,700 first, second, and third choice votes. He received 5,886 first place votes, 6,462 second place votes, and 11,352 third place votes. A total of 1.1 million students voted in the poll.

Eugene McCarthy received 285,598 first place votes (28 percent); Robert Kennedy, 213,576 (20.9 percent); Richard Nixon (19.4 percent); Nelson Rockefeller, 115,783 (11.4 percent); President Johnson, 57,535 (5.6 percent); George Wallace, 33,044 (3.25 percent); Ronald Reagan, 28,151 (2.8 percent); John Lindsay, 22,254 (2.19 percent); Hubert Humphrey, 18,535 write-in votes (1.7 percent); Charles Percy, 15,152 (1.5 percent); Mark Hatfield, 7,595 (.75 percent); Martin Luther King, Jr., 3,534 (.35 percent); and Harold Stassen, 1,032 (.1 percent).

Although Halstead's total is modest compared to the total vote cast, it is significant if one considers the fact that his candidacy has not received even a fraction of the national publicity enjoyed by the capitalist candidates. The majority of students that voted had never heard of him or of the Socialist Workers Party.

On the campuses where there are active groups of campaign supporters working hard to publicize the Socialist Workers ticket, Halstead's vote was substantially higher than his national percentage. For example at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, he placed second out of the 13 candidates

with 20 percent of the votes cast (see article below). He placed third at San Francisco State College receiving 142 (16.51 percent) of 982 votes cast, and fifth at the University of Wisconsin in Madison receiving 618 (6.6 percent) of the 9,626 votes cast. At the University of California in Berkeley he placed fourth, behind McCarthy, Kennedy and Rockefeller, receiving 640 (5.9 percent) of the 11,280 votes cast. California's governor, Ronald Reagan, came in 11th at Berkeley with 83 votes.

Other campuses where Halstead did well were Brandeis U. in Boston (5 percent); Merritt College in Oakland, Calif. (4.37 percent), and the University of Chicago (3.57 percent).

The real gains made by the Socialist Workers campaign as a result of CHOICE 68 cannot be measured by the votes cast for Halstead. What is more significant are the tens of thousands of students who were reached for the first time with socialist ideas, and the many who have become active socialists. A total of more than 120 meetings and debates with an attendance of over 8,000 were held for Halstead, Boutelle, SWP state candidates and other spokesmen for the campaign during the two months before the CHOICE 68 vote.

In Atlanta, for example, the Southeastern Coordinator for CHOICE 68 organized a city-wide rally that heard prominent spokesmen for most of the major candidates. Derrick Morrison, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and SWP Congressional candidate from the 14th C.D. in New York City, spoke on behalf of Fred Halstead



BERKELEY CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. Halstead-Boutelle campaign center and bookstore on Telegraph Avenue. Halstead spoke to rally of 2,000 at University of California on April 23.

to the 800 students present. One observer remarked that this was probably the first significant political rally in Georgia to be addressed by a supporter of a socialist presidential candidate since the days of Eugene Debs.

A total of 225 campuses were visited by young socialist trailblazers, 193,000 pieces of campaign literature directed especially to CHOICE 68 were distributed, and 28 new supporter groups for the Halstead-Boutelle campaign were established. Campaign literature was sent to over 200 CHOICE 68 coordinators who requested it for distribution and displays on their campuses, and dozens of articles about the Halstead-Boutelle campaign appeared in campus newspapers.

Besides the vote on the presidential race there were two referenda on the war. On the question, "What course of military action should the U.S. pursue in Vietnam?" the results were as follows: 17.6 percent for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces; 45 percent for phased reduction of American military activity; 7.49 percent for maintaining the status quo; 9.20 percent for increasing military effort; and 20.72 percent for all-out effort.

On the question, "What course of action should the United States pursue in regard to the bombing of North Vietnam?": 30 percent were for permanent cessation of bombing;

29 percent for temporary suspension of bombing; 12 percent for maintaining current level of bombing; 26 percent for intensifying bombing; and 4 percent for use of nuclear weapons.

These results indicate that a majority of the students who voted are opposed to the Vietnam war—with 62 percent favoring a cut-back of the U.S. military effort and 59 percent supporting an end to the bombing.

This antiwar vote can be attributed in part to the vigorous campaign that was waged by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle for a vote for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces and for a permanent cessation of bombing.

Richard Perlman, a student expelled from Shasta College in Redding, Calif., has been ordered readmitted by a California court. The Shasta Board of Trustees had thrown Perlman out because he invited Socialist Workers Party members to distribute campaign literature on campus.

Student Write-In Focused On Black Control Issue

In addition to the antiwar referenda and the vote for President that were part of the CHOICE 68 campus voting that took place on April 24, there was a referendum on the Afro-American struggle, euphemistically labeled the "urban crisis." Unlike the antiwar referenda, a broad range of choices was not offered. One choice called for greater repression of Afro-Americans under the guise of "stricter law enforcement." The other four choices were restricted to choosing between priorities for government spending and did not include basic social solutions to the oppression of black people.

The Socialist Workers candidates, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, waged a campaign in support of the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination by urging students to write-in "Black Control of Black Communities."

Unfortunately the CHOICE 68 national office refused to count write-ins, despite repeated requests to do so, with the exception of those for President, and consequently there

is no way of accurately determining how many students wrote in "Black Control of Black Communities."

On a few campuses, however, where the CHOICE 68 coordinators personally counted these write-ins, there were indications that many people voted for this choice. At Antioch College, 144 (20 percent) of the students voting wrote in "Black Control of Black Communities"; at the University of Washington in Seattle, 179 (2 percent); and at the University of California in Berkeley 448 (4 percent). The Berkeley vote is conservative because only a partial count was made.

The campaign for this demand created considerable interest around the country. The student newspaper at Morgan State College, an all-black school in Baltimore, carried a front-page article about Fred Halstead, with the lead headline: "Black Control is Needed." The article quoted extensively from statements by both Halstead and Boutelle explaining why students should write in "Black Control of Black Communities" and deplored the fact that these write-ins would not be counted.

Halstead 2nd at Antioch

By Alan M. Wald

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio—Hard work, discussion and debate paid off at this small Ohio college on April 24, when CHOICE 68, the national collegiate presidential poll, was held at Antioch. The preceding weeks were busy ones for campus supporters of Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and when the votes were counted Halstead came in second. He beat Robert Kennedy better than two to one.

The only candidate to beat Halstead was McCarthy, who polled 59 percent of the vote. Halstead won 20 percent and Kennedy was a distant third with 8 percent. The remaining candidates received only insignificant support. Seven hundred and three Antioch students voted—the largest participation in any college election in recent years. Halstead got 136 first-choice votes but received a total of 300 votes for first, second or third place.

The Antioch Student Mobilization Committee had a victory as well. SMC chairman John Studer supervised Antioch's drive to get out the antiwar vote. Local and national leaflets calling for immediate withdrawal were distributed, and an article explaining why the GIs should be brought home now appeared in The Antioch Masses, semimonthly campus magazine of art and politics.

When the results were in, 78 percent of the Antioch students voting had chosen "immediate withdrawal" in the section of the poll on American military intervention in Vietnam,

and 93 percent were for complete cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam.

In the poll on the "urban crisis," which only listed choices for priority in government spending, an unofficial Antioch count showed that 144 students had written in "Black control of the black community." This write-in vote was not recorded in the "official" results. The Community Manager of the college and the Antioch CHOICE 68 coordinator are writing a letter to Time magazine, sponsor of the mock election, protesting this unfair procedure.

During the campaign leading up to the April 24 vote, both Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, spoke on campus. They addressed unusually large audiences of nearly 300 each. Other spokesmen for the socialist campaign also appeared on the campus prior to April 24.

When Volunteers for McCarthy repeatedly refused to debate before a college audience, the editor of the Antioch newspaper arranged a full-page spread presenting the positions of both the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and the Volunteers for McCarthy.

With the coming of spring, Antioch Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle challenged the Volunteers for McCarthy to a softball game. The score: YSHB, 14; Volunteers for McCarthy, 10.

Workers, Students Fight German Decree Law

By Robert Langston

A new wave of militant opposition to proposed antidemocratic and antilabor legislation is spreading across the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The opposition is directed against the "emergency laws," a series of amendments to the West German constitution, which the Federal Parliament is expected to pass within the next two weeks.

The current stage of the opposition began May 12 with a demonstration by more than 30,000 people in Bonn, the Federal capital. In addition to protesters from the Federal Republic, cars, buses and special trains brought several thousand from Berlin and the German Democratic Republic. The Bonn demonstration included workers and peasants—as well as the students who have been prominent in recent West German demonstrations.

The Bonn demonstration was called by the Committee on the Emergency of Democracy. The Committee, formed in 1966 to fight the "emergency laws," is a broad united front of the German Socialist Student Union (SDS), the German Liberal Student Federation, the Social Democratic University Federation, and several of the more militant trade unions, including the large and powerful Metal Workers Union and Chemical Workers Union.

The opposition attained a higher level on May 15, when student strikes began in universities throughout the country. At the University of Frankfurt the majority of students respected SDS picket lines. In Hamburg, the strike was more than 70 percent effective. There were demonstrations, teach-ins and sit-ins in at least 10 other universities of the Federal Republic.

Significant is the beginning of workers' participation in the militant actions. On May 15, at least in Frankfurt, there were numerous work stoppages throughout the day in solidarity with the student strike.

The Frankfurt SDS has announced that

the strike there will continue for several days. And it has called for a general strike on May 29, when the "emergency laws" will come up for final consideration by the Federal Parliament.

The "emergency laws" were first proposed 10 years ago. Massive public opposition blocked their passage, however, until the Social Democratic Party entered a coalition government with the Christian Democrats a year and a half ago and agreed to support the legislation.

Under the proposed laws, in a "state of emergency" the government could intercept mail and tap telephones, draft all men over the age of 18 into "civil defense" units, order soldiers to work in factories and to carry on other civilian functions, and have the armed forces take over civilian police duties.

The conditions under which a "state of emergency" could be declared are very vague. If two-thirds of the Federal Parliament finds that a "condition of tension" exists in the country, the government can declare a state of emergency. And if the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization proclaims a military emergency affecting the alliance, the government can invoke the laws without any action by the West German Parliament whatsoever.

MURDER IN MEMPHIS

Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle

Articles by Paul Boutelle, George Novack, Joseph Hanson, and Clifton DeBerry

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Czechs Fight for Socialist Democracy

(The following are excerpts from a statement issued April 18 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. This is the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.)

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International salutes the students, intellectuals, and workers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic who for months have been the driving force in a powerful movement for socialist democracy in their country. We salute the initiative of the students, who, by going into the streets in support of their immediate demands and to protest the brutalities of the police, have considerably speeded the process of differentiation within the Czechoslovak Communist Party. We salute the intellectuals who have called for creative freedom in the arts and culture, as well as freedom of the press and criticism. For currents respecting the socialist constitution and collective ownership of the means of production, these freedoms must be a basic right in all countries which have abolished capitalism. We salute the workers' efforts to eliminate the trade-union bureaucracy and elect their own union leaders in the plants and industrial divisions.

We salute the "March for Vietnam" and the actions in support of the students in West Berlin and West Germany which the Czechoslovak students have organized in recent weeks and their solidarity with the Polish students and intellectuals; these clearly differentiate them from their false "friends" both in the bourgeois press and public opinion in the West as well as in the pro-Moscow parties and open the way for a renewal of the internationalist spirit.

Of all the states which have abolished capitalism, Czechoslovakia is, along with the German Democratic Republic, the one whose social makeup is most favorable to socialism. The peasantry constitutes only a small minority of the working population; the pro-

letariat represents the great majority of the people and has a long-established class tradition and consciousness. The remnants of the bourgeois order are weak, scattered, and demoralized. . . .

Objectively and subjectively, Czechoslovakia is becoming ripe for the creation of a real socialist democracy which could exercise a profound influence on the evolution of all the workers states and give a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles in the West.

It would be illusory, however, to think that such a socialist democracy will be established automatically; that it could be produced by the struggle of cliques within the bureaucracy; that it could be definitively secured against its foreign and domestic enemies by mere petty reforms in the system of government in force in the country since February 1948. . . .

Consolidating socialist democracy—which has nothing to do with bourgeois democracy—means preserving the positive conquests of 1948: collective ownership of the means of production and exchange, economic planning, and the state monopoly of foreign trade. . . .

To consolidate socialist democracy by no means signifies giving back part of the power to the representatives of the old bourgeoisie and the bourgeois parties which remain firmly opposed to the country's socialist economic structure.

But the consolidation of socialist democracy does mean allowing freedom of criticism, press, and organization, as well as the freedom to demonstrate for all tendencies and parties which stand within the framework of the socialist constitution—all those parties and tendencies whose program defends the socialized mode of production and which cannot be charged before the courts, on the basis of written law, with acts of collusion with the domestic or foreign counterrevolution.

The consolidation of socialist democracy means above all assuring direct exercise of power by the working people. This means putting into practice the program which Lenin formulated in State and Revolution and giving all power to a congress of workers councils (soviets) elected in all the plants in the country. . . .

The Czechoslovak counterrevolution is extremely weak, and the international situation is hardly favorable to reinforcing it. A counterrevolutionary danger could, however, develop from the disappointment of the immense hopes which have arisen today in the Czechoslovak people—if the movement for socialist democracy does not broaden and spread, if it does not move from the stage of reforms to that of profound revolutionary transformations in the state and the superstructure as a whole, but is stifled and crushed in embryo.

The Soviet bureaucracy's direct representatives in Czechoslovakia, the men of Novotny and the Kremlin, understand this perfectly.

4,000 in Vancouver Protest Against War

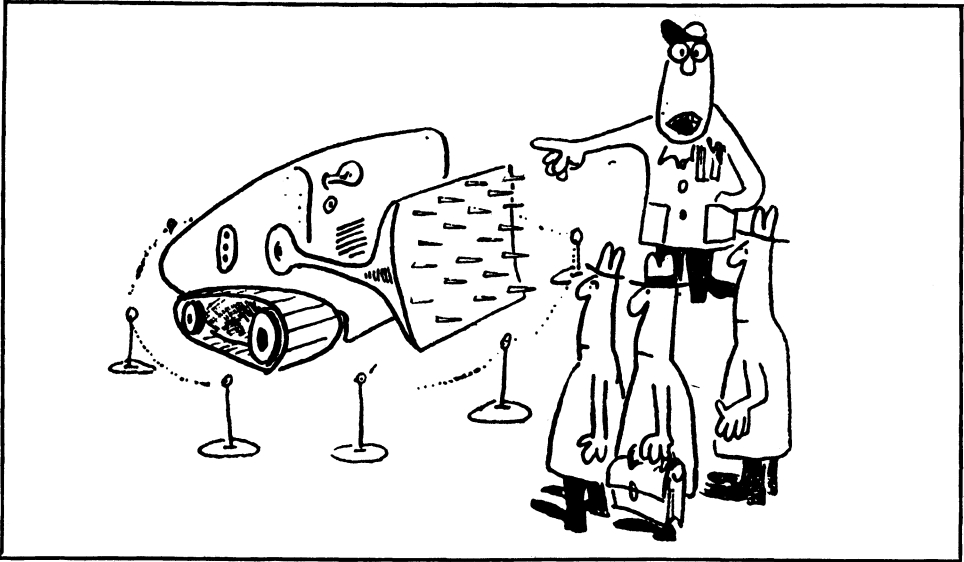
By Phil Courneyeur
VANCOUVER—Over 4,000 Vancouverites took to the streets April 27 to join the International Day of Protest Against the War in Vietnam. A march of 2,000 from City Hall to the Provincial Court House swelled into a huge rally, overflowing into Robson Street from the Court House steps.

The demonstration was organized by the Vancouver Coordinating Committee, comprised of over 40 organizations including trade unions, church groups, antiwar committees, the Communist Party, the League for Socialist Action, numerous New Democratic Party associations and the Young Socialists. Only the Maoist "Progressive Workers Movement" stayed outside.

The April 27 protest was more radical than the protest of October 21. Besides the official coordinating committee slogans of "Withdraw Now" and "Canada Speak Out," many demonstrators carried signs calling for "Solidarity with Vietnam," "Defend the Colonial Revolution" and "Support the NLF." Flags and placards of Che Guevara were seen everywhere.

Members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee sold hundreds of copies of the English version of the Cuban Communist Party newspaper, Granma, and hundreds of "Viva Che" buttons.

This demonstration was officially supported by the New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party, which was holding a provincial convention at the time. The convention went on record in support of the demand for withdrawal of American troops and adjourned to hold an antiwar rally.



" . . . and this is the latest machine for spurring individual productivity." From Hospadarske Noviny (Prague). Cartoons and comments criticizing bureaucratic methods appeared in last few years in Czech press.

Their aim is to arouse skepticism and distrust for socialist democracy in the popular sectors, to seek a justification, even in entirely isolated phenomena, for an intervention and the crushing of the mass movement. The maneuvers which the Soviet army carried out on the borders of Czechoslovakia are an eloquent warning on this score.

The Soviet bureaucracy fears the contagion which could result for the toiling masses of the other workers states, above all Poland, East Germany, and the USSR itself, from an avowal or a triumph of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. . . .

It is . . . (the) whole international context which explains why the Kremlin so fears the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia and why it is getting ready to halt and stifle this liberation movement with all the means at its command. And among such means, a favorite weapon is the attempt to turn the workers against the students and intellectuals who have set the present reform movement in motion. The Czechoslovak vanguard on the fighting front for socialist democracy must recognize the realities on which this maneuver is based and find the means for countering it in time.

The workers have little sympathy for Novotny and the clique of parasites who helped him run the country by systematically stifling all expression of the workers' will for such a long time. But at the same time they distrust the technocrats who are preparing to take the reins of the economy as a consequence of the "economic reforms" advocated by Ota Sik.

Both the Novotny clique's spokesmen and the Kremlin's agents, and the representatives of the "liberal" technocratic tendency present things as if the Czechoslovak workers had no alternative but to choose between a hypercentralized and bureaucratic kind of socialist economic management and return to the "market economy," rebaptized "socialist" for the occasion. The Novotny clique is sabotaging this "market economy" because it wants at any price to return to bureaucratic centralization. And the foes of this system, sincere or not, say that there is no alternative but "the market economy."

In reality, the workers are attracted by neither of these two models. In the first case, they know that what they can expect is a poor standard of living, scarce and shoddy consumers goods and few or no rights in the plants. In the second case, they correctly fear (as the example of Yugoslavia proves) the return of unemployment, high prices, and increasing social inequality. Furthermore, the economic reforms extolled by the present leadership threaten to increase the powers of the plant managers, including the power to fire workers and reserve the bulk of the anticipated bonuses for the professional personnel. . . .

The real solution to Czechoslovakia's economic problems, a solution firmly on the path of socialist democracy, is election of workers councils in all the plants; exercise by these councils of the supreme economic power in the plants, including the hiring and firing of plant managers and management personnel; sharing by the factory collectives in the results obtained not through competition on the market but by a systematic striving to reduce production costs; guaranteed full employment for all workers; the formulation of the plans through free debate by a congress of workers councils with the right to modify any drafts drawn up by the plants which are contrary to the collective interests of the Czechoslovak working masses; subordination of the planning authority to this congress, a large majority of whose delegates must be workers earning no more

than a skilled worker's wages, so as to prevent it from being manipulated by the technocrats; the launching of a vast movement of inspection and accounting by the rank-and-file workers of the economy's stocks and reserves; a guarantee that the workers' living standards will increase proportionally with the increase in the national income; and, on the basis of all these transformations, the launching of a vast movement of working-class initiative and creative enthusiasm.

The Czechoslovak masses struggling for socialist democracy have instinctively understood that their victory cannot be assured if the people do not completely wipe out all of the crimes and injustices which have stained Czechoslovakia's recent past. Revolutionary peoples have a good memory. That is why it is right and proper to shed full light on the Slansky trial and all the injustices against worker militants committed since 1948 (including by Slansky himself). That is why it is right and proper to rehabilitate all of the victims of the Stalinist terror. That is why particular importance must be attached to rehabilitating revolutionary militants like Kalandra who criticized the regime from the left; the present rulers are much less in a hurry to rehabilitate such militants than they are to concern themselves with representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie. . . .

The essential elements of the action program which the Fourth International proposes to the Czechoslovak working masses are: a soviet-type political regime; democratically centralized workers self-management in the economic sphere; freedom of organization, of the press, and of assembly for all tendencies in the workers movement; critical examination of the ideological legacy of the great thinkers and great currents of thought in the international communist movement; full light on the trials and repressions of the Stalin era; the right of self-determination for all nationalities and the establishment of a genuinely federal statute; solidarity with the Polish and Soviet students, intellectuals, and workers who are struggling for socialist democracy in their respective countries; and active solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and all the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movements in progress throughout the world. By adopting this program and resolutely mobilizing behind it, they will make the socialist democracy which they seek to win invincible.

Viet Solidarity Action By Mexican Students

MEXICO CITY—In response to the appeal of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York, a number of days were devoted here to demonstrating in solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Alerting actions began April 22. These included meetings, rallies, the singing of songs, etc. This led up to a march on April 25. The demonstration swelled to some 10,000 participants as the parade wound through the center of the city.

Demonstrators chanted, "Ho, Ho—Ho Chi Minh" and "Freedom for Vallejo" (the trade union leader who recently went on a hunger strike after being held nine years as a political prisoner). This was followed by another cry in which President Diaz Ordaz was mentioned in association with an unprintable four-letter word.

All this culminated in a student strike April 26. While the demonstrators did not succeed in shutting down the National University of Mexico, their action was nevertheless an impressive indication of the opposition to U.S. imperialism here.

30,000 Marchers At U.S. Embassy In Copenhagen

COPENHAGEN—As in most other European capitals, a big demonstration was staged here April 27 against American aggression in Vietnam. It was the largest demonstration of its kind yet held in Denmark, some 30,000 participants marching to the U.S. embassy shouting, "Johnson, murderer . . . U.S. get out of Vietnam."

Among the speakers, a representative of the West German SDS (Socialist Students Union) said that the best thing to do was to storm the embassy. This was greeted with heavy applause.

After the rally was over, thousands of militants sat down in the street in front of the embassy. Others threw eggs and other objects at the building, breaking many windows. A few smoke bombs and gasoline cocktails were also thrown, but these caused no damage.

The police responded with unusual brutality. Some 500 men attacked not only those who were throwing missiles but also those sitting quietly in the street. They arrested 28 persons. More than 100 demonstrators and 30 police were injured.

It took the police about four hours to clear the streets around the embassy.

Later in the evening, some of the demonstrators assembled at the main railway station where they were again attacked by the police. Others, by way of protest against the police violence, broke the windows at a nearby police station.

Since April 27, the conduct of the police has been much criticized, not only in the left-wing but in the more liberal capitalist papers. It is generally admitted that the police violence exceeded anything seen since the end of World War II.

A plainclothesman was among those clubbed down by the men in uniform—a fact that is difficult to explain if the police acted only to defend themselves against attack.

On April 28 scores of demonstrators again appeared at the U.S. embassy. They threw stones, accurately enough to break a few more windows. They escaped without anyone being caught by the police guard maintained at the embassy.

In drawing up the lessons to be learned from the employment of police violence against antiwar and antifascist demonstrators, the Vietnam Committee of Copenhagen (a joint body in which nearly all the committees opposed to the U.S. role in Vietnam have representatives) projected the organization of defense groups to afford a measure of protection.

Peruvian Guerrillas Regroup Forces After Defeats

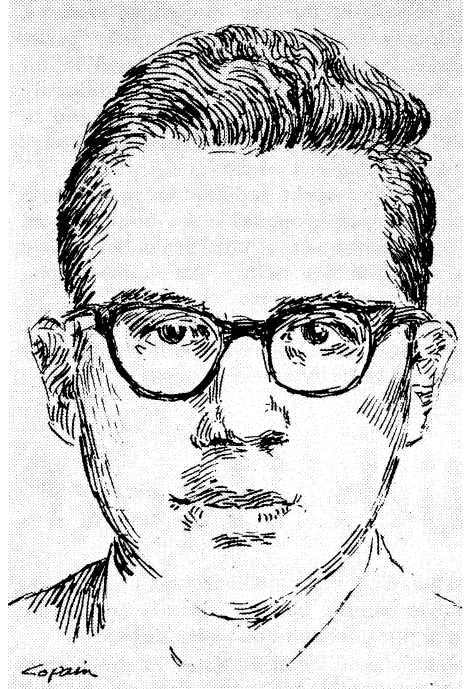
By Harry Ring

While in Havana earlier this year, I interviewed a Peruvian revolutionary who was also visiting there. From the interview I obtained a picture of the guerrilla movement in Peru and information about the efforts to win freedom for a number of imprisoned revolutionaries.

The Peruvian Committee to Defend the Rights of Man has been seeking to mobilize support for Ricardo Gadea, an imprisoned leader of one of the movements, as well as a number of others. The committee is also aiding Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian Trotskyist leader who was sentenced to 25 years in prison for his activity in organizing peasants of the Cuzco region.

Gadea and seven others have been in prison without trial for two years. Authorities had indicated a trial date had been set for this past February, but the trial was not held. The government had also indicated it would ask for eight-year terms for Gadea and his comrades, but it is feared that this is a trick and that, when the trial is held, a harsher penalty will be asked.

Gadea is associated with the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), which carried



Ricardo Gadea

on guerrilla struggle under the command of Luis de la Puente who was killed in combat.

Three Fronts

The MIR had initiated guerrilla activity on three fronts—in the northern, southern and central parts of the country—in June of 1965.

In September of that year, another group, the National Liberation Army (ELN), opened a fourth front in the south-central region.

While the MIR was operating on three fronts, its principal force developed in the central region where there were two military units, one commanded by Guillermo Lobaton, the other by Maximo Velando.

The central command, under de la Puente, was headquartered in Mesa Pelada, a remote, isolated region in the mountainous area of Cuzco which borders on most of the central regions of Peru.

In June of 1965 the MIR struck its first blow by attacking the hacienda of a big landlord in the central region. The government tried to conceal the real nature of this attack, attributing it to bandits and cattle rustlers. They hoped this would dissuade the local population from giving support to the guerrillas.

In actuality, the guerrilla fighters say they had won a significant degree of support from the people in the central area and in the north as well. Because of this, they were able to carry through several effective military actions.

But the government didn't rest with lying propaganda. It immediately moved into action against the guerrillas on a massive scale. In doing so it had the active support of the United States. Peru proved to be a case where the ruling circles and their U.S. master didn't wait for the guerrilla forces to develop before responding.

It is felt they moved so quickly and decisively because the social contradictions there are so immense and so explosive.

Key Problem

Peru's key problem is that of the landless Indian. There are really two different econ-

omies in the country. The one, which is essentially feudal, is based in the central mountain region and embraces some 60 percent of the population. There the peasants are compelled to work for the large landowners, or latifundistas, to pay for the "right" to work a small parcel of land for themselves.

Certain features of capitalism, such as the use of credit, are grafted on to this feudal setup to ensure the grip of the landlords. The conditions of this area, as well as that of the Amazon jungle region which also has serflike conditions, is described as "medieval."

In the fertile coastal plain region of the Pacific, contemporary capitalist relations prevail, and this is the decisive sector of the economy. Here U.S. interests dominate. International Petroleum controls oil deposits and there are U.S. copper interests. The Peter Grace Company has large agricultural holdings.

A few figures give some indication of what the rule of U.S. imperialist interests and the local oligarchy has meant for 11 million Peruvians.

In the coastal region 10 percent of the population owns 39 percent of the land.

In the Sierra, 3 percent own 93 percent of the land.

Peru has one of the lowest calorie intakes in the world.

It has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world.

There are a million children for whom there are no schools.

Sixty-two percent of the people are illiterate.

Tinder Box

It is this cruel oppression that makes Peru a tinder box for revolution and which prompts the rulers to move with speed against every expression of revolt.

Thus, when the MIR opened its attack, the government quickly dispatched police against them. But the police were routed by the guerrilla unit led by Guillermo Lobaton. Then Peruvian Rangers, trained in counter-insurgency by the U.S., were sent in.

To buttress its military offensive, the government decreed the death penalty on July 9, 1965, for anyone aiding guerrillas. A sweeping "anticommunist" law was also enacted, and there were mass arrests. The wives of the guerrilla leaders were imprisoned for eight months. The jails were filled with thousands of people associated with the left-wing parties and the student, labor and peasant movements.

While the Rangers hunted down the guerrillas, other army units, directed by U.S. advisers trained in Vietnam, flew over the central region in helicopters, dropping napalm on villages and hamlets near the guerrilla sites. The peasants were "relocated" in Cuzco.

The forces of Lobaton and Velando suffered devastating blows. Lobaton disappeared and his comrades are certain he was killed. Velando was wounded and captured. On the way back to Lima, presumably for the trial he was entitled to, he was hurled from a plane to his death.

Death Trap

Finally, the Army penetrated as far as Mesa Pelada, where the MIR headquarters was situated. The location, which had been presumed to make it nearly invulnerable, proved to be a death trap. While it was extremely difficult to get into, it was equally difficult to get out of.

As a result, on Oct. 15, 1965, de la Puente was killed in combat.

The MIR guerrillas of the northern region, although encircled by 8,000 troops, managed to escape and reportedly still maintain their presence in the area, though they are not in a position to engage in combat.

In the south, the MIR retreated in the face of the government advance and also suffered defeat. An additional blow was struck when they found a guide to be an informer. They imprisoned rather than executed the man and he escaped and led the government troops to them.

Meanwhile, the National Liberation Army continued to function for a period in the south. They were able to survive because they were a smaller, more mobile force and didn't engage the government troops in direct combat. The principal activity was to single



INDIAN PEASANTS. Conditions for Indians in Peru's highlands remain feudal.

out a landlord, eliminate him and distribute the land.

But shortly after the MIR forces were crushed, the commander of the ELN, Hector Bejar, was stricken with a leprosy-like disease of the foot and compelled to go to Lima for treatment. There he was betrayed and captured. He, too, has not been tried yet.

ELN Disbands

Faced with the loss of their leader and with the defeat of the MIR forces, the ELN decided to disband its military formation.

After de la Puente's death, the MIR tried to continue action in the city. But in April 1966, Ricardo Gadea and seven of his comrades were captured and jailed in Lima.

In October 1966, the MIR held a meeting where it assessed its past experience. The

Contributions to aid the defense of Peruvian prisoners can be sent to: Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, Apartado 10149, Lima, Peru.

participants concluded that a number of serious military errors had been made, which they cited. But they reaffirmed their conviction that armed struggle remained the only road for the liberation of their country. The members of the ELN reportedly held a similar discussion and arrived at similar conclusions.

Both groups agree on the need for the unity of the revolutionary groups in the struggle. They believe the lack of such unity was in part responsible for the past defeats.

Both also point out they had launched their struggle with the expectation that they would have the support of the Communist Party and other left groups and that this was not forthcoming.

If there had been significant support in the city, they contend, this would have served to divert some of the repressive forces that

were sent against them.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party paper, Unidad, took the position, "Yes, guerrilla warfare is correct, but the necessary subjective conditions haven't developed. . . ."

The pro-Peking split-off from the CP labeled the guerrillas "adventurists."

Could Have Helped

This was considered particularly unfortunate in that the Maoist group dominates the university student federation in Lima and, if they had wanted to, could have organized a significant guerrilla contingent.

With difficulty, some work is being continued in the former guerrilla zones and in one new area. The work is proceeding on the assumption that, because of the repression and the Yankee penetration of the armed forces, it will not be at all easy to resume guerrilla activity.

Meanwhile, it is understood that efforts are being made to achieve greater unity of the revolutionary forces. It is also reported that some of the people in the student federation are now seeking means to get into the struggle and that there have been assaults on banks—and other actions—in Lima.

A most pressing immediate problem for Peruvian revolutionaries is defense of Ricardo Gadea, Hector Bejar, Hugo Blanco and the other political prisoners. In addition to the needs of the prisoners and their defense, there is the urgent problem of assisting their families, most of whom are in a desperate situation.

Two things are strongly urged. First is that everyone follow the example of the distinguished international group of intellectuals at the Cultural Congress of Havana who demanded of Peruvian President Belaunde Terry that the political prisoners be freed.

Second, that financial contributions be sent to Peru at once to aid the defense of the prisoners and help provide assistance for their families.

Peaceful Demonstration by Women Brutally Attacked by Israeli Police

Israeli police in occupied Jerusalem attacked and brutally dispersed a peaceful demonstration by Arab women April 25.

The women were protesting the decision of the Zionist to stage a massive military parade through the Arab sector of Jerusalem to mark the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel May 2. The parade was finally held in the face of a demand by the United Nations that it be canceled.

James Feron, writing from Jerusalem in the April 26 New York Times, described the protest by the Arab women:

"The women, dressed in black and carrying placards, had intended to submit a petition against the parade to military Government officials in the former Jordanian sector.

"They had walked only a few hundred yards along Saladin Street, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the Arab sector, when they were stopped by policemen one block short of the military Government headquarters.

"The police informed the women they were violating the law, since they had no permit for such a demonstration. Told to go home, the women shouted that the Arab sector was their home.

"The police then began to tear the placards and banners from the women and to push them from the street. The women resisted and within minutes the street was the

scene of a shrieking melee.

"Sticks broken in the struggle were used as clubs. The fighting spread to the sidewalks and later to a side street, near the Ritz Hotel, when some of the marchers tried to regroup."

The Israelis arrested 11 women, including the wife of the former Jordanian governor of Jerusalem and their 23-year-old daughter. Two men were arrested merely for having "shouted encouragement from the sidewalk."

U.S. Health Officer Warns

Mace Is Not So 'Harmless'

Chemical Mace, the supposedly "harmless" riot control agent that is rapidly becoming police departments' standard means of dealing with antiwar protesters and black militants, may cause permanent eye damage.

U.S. Surgeon General William H. Stewart issued this warning in a letter to law enforcement authorities throughout the country. He recommended that Mace victims be given prompt first-aid and stated that the evidence of the effects of the chemical is not complete. The Surgeon General added that further studies of the effects are planned.

NMU: Case History of a Bureaucracy

On April 19 Federal District Judge Constance Motley rendered a judgment in a suit against Joseph Curran et al and the National Maritime Union, brought by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz at the behest of four rank-and-file NMU members. Judge Motley declared the 1966 election of officers of the union in violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act and ordered an immediate new election.

Behind this development is the fact that the NMU has, without doubt, the most iron-fisted (without the velvet glove) bureaucracy in the whole country. No other union leadership has managed to legislate itself such complete control.

Once upon a time the NMU, built in strife during the 1930s, was a relatively democratic union. Today this same organization has been so altered that it is literally impossible for an opposition candidate or slate to seek national office.

Prior to 1963 membership requirements for a candidate were one year. Now the in-good-standing requirement has been increased to five years. Sea time has also been upped. But the most obstructive gimmick of all is that the candidate must have served "at least one term as branch agent, field patrolman or patrolman." The same convention took the position of patrolman off the elective list and made it appointive—by Curran or his National Council.

The only way a man can get an appointment as patrolman is to keep his nose good and clean, vote right, keep his membership under control, and above all, keep the peace

The National Picketline

with the shipping bosses unless Curran orders otherwise.

Since the national conventions consist of the incumbent officers, all officers in charge of ports (agents) and one representative from each chartered labor organization (the Brotherhood of Marine Officers and the United Marine Division—tug boats), this eliminates any possibility of a rank-and-file revolt at a convention.

But to make even more certain that no such opposition arises, the 1963 convention also amended the constitution to provide that all convention decisions and all amendments be binding and final—not subject to membership referendum.

During his "stewardship" Curran has manipulated the membership at will, raised the dues, imposed assessments, placed a \$100 a year tax on pensioners (from which he had to make a swift retreat), raised his own and his officers' salaries and pensions way up to the stratosphere, set up unlimited expense accounts for all his boys in such a way that no auditing is possible, provided all of them with expensive cars, gone into the real estate business, and generally had a wonderful time with the union funds.

Now a rump opposition group, which tried to get elected in the 1966 vote, has temporarily upset his appcart. In the May issue of The Pilot, Curran analyzes the court decision, saying "NMU will fight for rights of free trade unionism in America, but calls for a new election forthwith to end bureaucratic harassment."

In other words, he will hold a quick election, forestall the opposition having time to present its program to the membership, and then once again begin to enjoy his full life.

When Joseph Curran, after a lifetime of presidency in the NMU, dies and goes to hell, he will undoubtedly set about reorganizing Lucifer's domain.

ILA's Gleason "Honored"

Thomas W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, who has almost as good a record as a union dictator as NMU's Joseph Curran, is dearly beloved by the Johnson administration and the Pentagon. He has not only apparently succeeded in brainwashing much of his own membership into supporting the dirty war in Vietnam, but has gone beyond that.

During the past couple of years he has made four trips to Saigon to help the U.S. and the South Vietnam government, as well as the ship and dock employers, keep a tight rein on the Vietnamese workers while he made "suggestions" for speeding up the work of unloading ships.

For this he was honored recently by a banquet at which the Air Force sent its secretary, Harold Brown, to praise him for "unclogging the ports, introducing lifting and gear equipment, registering workers and hiring them through a hiring hall, and grouping employers into an association."

It goes without saying that Mr. Gleason did not upset diplomatic relations by organizing the workers!

— Marvel Scholl

Columbia Rally Gets Facts On Puerto Rico Jailings

By Richard Garza

NEW YORK—Angel Luis Mendez, a student of political science in New York City and a member of the Puerto Rican Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI), spoke May 7 at the Sun Dial at Columbia University at a noon rally sponsored by the Strike Committee. He extended the greetings of FUPI to the strikers and said:

"We face the same enemy: the big stockholders, monopolists and businessmen that control your university and control our island. At the same time that they are repressing your struggle, their puppet government in Puerto Rico is pressing charges against 25 University of Puerto Rico youth. Those charges could lead to 15 years imprisonment if they are found guilty."

The accused Puerto Rican youths, the leadership of the independence forces on the San Juan campus, are in the vanguard of the struggles for academic freedom and against compulsory U.S. military service for Puerto Ricans. They were among the most active organizers of the recent student strike at the University of Puerto Rico, which was called in response to the appeal of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York.

Among the 18 who appeared in court on April 29 were Alberto Perez, former president of the FUPI; Manuel de J. Gonzalez, president; Luis Corchado, financial secretary; Angel Agosto, organization secretary; and Florencio Merced, secretary of university affairs.

Mr. Mendez explained that the charges, which include conspiracy, incitement to riot, arson in the first and second degree and destruction of private property, are based on an incident involving the Pro-Statehood University Youth (APUE) and the FUPI that occurred last September.

The APUE issued a leaflet accusing the FUPI of peddling narcotics. FUPI supporters went to the APUE headquarters to demand an explanation. Their chants from the street were met by curses over the APUE loudspeaker system. Suddenly, the police, wielding clubs, attacked the FUPI youths and



JUAN MARI BRAS, MPI general secretary. Independence movement is gaining strength and deepening political program.

drove them back to the university grounds. The cops followed the students onto the campus where many were beaten and five were arrested.

The police withdrew only after the dean came out to plead with them. The students then organized a march of about 1,000 and set out for the Rio Piedras jail to demand the release of the five imprisoned students. Suddenly a lieutenant ordered another police attack. Again the students retreated to the university, which was soon surrounded by regular and tactical police, and began to erect barricades to defend themselves against still another police attack.

After some rocks had been thrown by both sides, the police opened fire. About 10 p.m. Adrian Rodriguez, a taxi driver, was killed by a .38-caliber bullet—the caliber of regulation police weapons.

Until today, seven months after the event, the police have "not been able" to find the gun that killed Adrian Rodriguez.

CALENDAR

- BOSTON**
- BLACK NATIONALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA.** Speakers: **Charles Turner**, co-chairman, Roxbury Black United Front, and **Derrick Morrison**, member, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, **May 24**, 8:15 p.m. **295 Huntington Ave.**, Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
-
- CHICAGO**
- TANZANIA—African Socialism and Self-Reliance.** Speaker: **Matilde Zimmerman**. Friday, **May 24**, 8 p.m. Contrib. 75 cents. **302 S. Canal St.** Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
-
- LOS ANGELES**
- Symposium: WHAT WHITE RADICALS SHOULD DO ABOUT WHITE RACISM.** Speakers from Students for a Democratic Society, Brotherhood for the Abolition of White Racism, Peace Action Council's Committee on Internal Oppression, and Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, **May 24**, 8:30 p.m. **1702 E. Fourth St.** Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
-
- NEW YORK**
- Symposium: An Arab and Israeli Socialist on THE MIDEAST CRISIS.** Panelists: **Abdel El Messiri**, a student from the United Arab Republic; **Adam Faraj**, a student from Israel. Friday, **May 24**, 8:30 p.m. **873 Broadway**, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
-
- TWIN CITIES**
- CUBA 1968—An Eyewitness Report** by **Harry Ring**, staff writer for The Militant, just returned from three months in Cuba. Friday, **May 24**, 8:30 p.m. **704 Hennepin**, Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

----- clip and mail -----

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The American Way of Life A System With Heart

Some knotty problems are developing in relation to heart transplant operations. We're not talking about the petty questions raised by scientists who think there shouldn't be a rush to perform such operations just because there still isn't much known about it.

The real problems are moral ones. They were raised in their most succinct form by one Joe Moss who is, fittingly enough, assistant district attorney in Houston, Tex.

"Suppose," Joe Moss inquires, "you donate your heart and the recipient lives another 10 years. Would your heirs be entitled to sue for a portion of the income earned by the recipient during the decade?"

"On the other hand," he continued, probing further, "suppose your heart does not work in the recipient. Could the heirs of the recipient sue the estate of the donor for supplying a faulty heart?"

There are other similar questions that come to mind. Suppose a well-to-do man is about to cash in and they give him a new heart. Couldn't his waiting heirs sue for damages, not only for having the inheritance postponed, but also in compensation for the extra money the old man will be spending after he should have been dead?

Clearly, there is only one way to cut through these moral dilemmas. That is to get away from this socialistic "donor" business and put the whole deal on an American, cash-and-carry basis.

That way you could make the terms of the sale precise. All hearts would be purchased on a strictly as-is basis. Unless, of course, someone is willing to pay a bit extra for a warranty.

To ensure that such sales are carried on in a reputable way, dealer franchises should be issued, as with used cars. This would spur competition, thus ensuring a better product. It will also help make the public more conscious of the possibilities open to them in the used-heart field.

Children would be fascinated by singing commercials for Honest John Medico, King of the Heart Dealers, who, for one week only, is clearing out all the hearts on his lot for a price so low he should have his own heart and head examined.

Such franchised dealers could team up with ambulance-chasing attorneys. If the

victim of a car crash survives a crash, the lawyer would get the case. If he is dead on arrival, Honest John gets the heart.

Such firms could arrange for the systematic availability of hearts through contractual arrangements for future delivery. This would have side benefits for the public. A worker between jobs could sign his heart over to Honest John and would receive an advance down payment to enjoy while still alive.

Of course, to be legal, such a contract would have to be for a specifically stated period of time and the recipient of the deposit would naturally be expected to surrender the commodity he sold on the agreed-upon date.

Also, there should be some government price-fixing in this field. This would help counter communist propaganda. Like now they're saying that maybe black people will be killed in South Africa when hearts are needed.

Here we would assure that every black person would receive a fixed price for his heart. Of course, it would be a bit less than the price for a white man's heart. After all, so much less money is spent on keeping a black man's heart beating, you can't expect it to fetch the same price on the open market.

—Herman Chauka

Boston-Area Meetings Hear Pedro Juan Rua

BOSTON—Pedro Juan Rua, secretary for political education of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) in New York City, spoke May 10 to an audience of 50 at Harvard College. Rua gave a brief history of the colonial exploitation of Puerto Rico by U.S. imperialism.

He stressed the powerful impetus the struggle for Puerto Rican independence had received from the success of the Cuban Revolution. Rua reported that the MPI now has local organizations in every major Puerto Rican city.

Following a meeting May 11 in the Puerto Rican community, a new organization, Friends of MPI, was formed.



Photo by Della Rossa

ARREST SCENE. Reies Tijerina (left) and his brother Cristobal being taken in by police.

Mexican-American Leader Rearrested by N.M. Cops

By Della Rossa

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—Reies Lopez Tijerina and 17 other members of the New Mexico land grant movement were arrested April 26 on trumped-up charges of "false imprisonment" and "robbery." The charges are based on an attempt last June by Tijerina and other members of the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres (Federal Alliance of Free City States) to make a citizens' arrest of District Attorney Alfonso Sanchez, following continual false arrests and other police harassment of members of the Alianza. Tijerina and 12 others were originally charged with kidnapping and robbery, but the kidnapping charge was later reduced to "false imprisonment."

Tijerina was scheduled to fly to Washington

April 28 to meet with the steering committee of the Poor People's March. Commenting on the timing of his arrest, Tijerina said, "I, like all my people, am very much suspicious of the combination of my arrest and the Albuquerque Journal's editorial attack on me because I was elected" a leader of the Poor People's March on Washington. "It is a direct attack on the March."

Tijerina was arrested as he was returning to Albuquerque after addressing a conference of NO MAS! (New Organization of Mexican-American Students) at the University of Texas in El Paso. Before leaving Albuquerque for El Paso, Tijerina had been informed by the FBI of a threat to kill him if he went to El Paso.

The Great Society

Improvement at White House—Lady Bird no longer has to make do with the same old china that's been in the White House ever since the days of Harry Truman. A modestly anonymous friend contributed a new set with service for 216. Turned out by Tiffany's, it's decorated not, as we might expect, with a portrait of Chairman LBJ, but with a good old rapacious American eagle. In keeping with our present austerity program, the dishes are modestly priced, costing "under \$80,000."

Change Needed—George Brown, deputy leader of the British Labor Party, told a party rally that the Labor government had raised wages to meet rising prices. A woman in the audience objected that she hadn't had a raise in 18 months. "Then, my dear," replied the well-paid Comrade Brown, "you should change jobs." "But I work for the Labor Party," she replied. Better advice would have been to change leaders.

Do-It-Yourself—The finding by Newark's fire chief that some ghetto merchants were taking advantage of the outbreaks to burn down their shops for the insurance reminded us of George Lavan's old joke about the two businessmen vacationing in Florida. The one explained he financed his trip with the proceeds from the insurance when his store burned down. The other said he was there on insurance money from a flood. "Oh," responded the first, "How do you start a flood?"

Labor Statesman—The New York Times reported that the executive board of the United Auto Workers was divided on who to support for president, but indicated that Walter Reuther, the union's head, would take a position on the issue which we feel conforms to his basic principles. "Mr. Reuther himself has not stated a preference," the paper reported, "but his aides think he will eventually support the candidate he thinks has the best chance of winning in November."

Belt-Line Creativity—Individual, non-regimented thought, the hallmark of our system, will be even more effectively produced, according to Prof. Harry Broudy of the University of Illinois. AP reports that he thinks "education will have to take on the characteristics of mass production in order to furnish the 'idea power' necessary to fuel technological advances."

No Free Laughs—TV station KTBC in Austin, Tex., doesn't carry the Smothers Brothers show which frequently comments on the best President we've got at the moment. The station, curiously, is controlled by the LBJ empire. However, if you want to pay to see the Smothers Brothers poke fun at Chairman LBJ, you can subscribe to the Capital Television Service's direct line in Austin which does carry the show. The Johnsons have a half interest in Capital.

New?—Two Army psychiatrists say there is a new kind of combat fatigue which is peculiar to the Vietnam war. While most forms of combat fatigue are almost entirely psychological disturbances, they said, the repeated exposure to emotionally shocking events in Vietnam has produced effects on the body as well as the mind. These symptoms, they said, include inability to sleep, anxiety, guilt and physical discomfort severe enough to produce vomiting and diarrhea. In other words, some Americans are still capable of being sickened by having to burn and bomb innocent people.

For Withdrawal—A Swiss newspaper contends that a poll of American Indians showed 20 percent favor withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, but 80 percent favor withdrawal of U.S. troops from America.

Thought for the Week—"There are hundreds of widows with \$5-million portfolios of investments on Wall Street. But after all, anybody with \$5 million or less is hardly much better than a bum these days."—Mollie Parnis, millionaires' dressmaker.

—Harry Ring

Antiwar and Black Pickets 'Greet' Humphrey at Kent

By Roy Inglee

KENT, Ohio—Hubert H. Humphrey made the first campus appearance of his presidential campaign here May 5. He selected Kent State University, he said, because "it is the most conservative of the large campuses."

As town and university prepared a welcome for the Vice President, black and antiwar students planned a different sort of reception. A broad united front, which included the Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, Student Religious Liberals and the United Christian Fellowship, distributed thousands of leaflets demanding immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and denouncing Humphrey's support of the war and his sponsorship of the McCarran Act.

About 6,000 people gathered to hear Humphrey in the school's gym. Twelve rows in the center of the main floor were occupied by some 200 antiwar students, and about 70 members of Black United Students, many of them wearing Boutelle buttons, were seated in two rows of bleachers on the left side of the hall.

Humphrey's speech consisted of a 25-minute denunciation of "lawless" student protest, and he concluded with a call for students to set an example—"not by being a bully in the streets, but by volunteering as tutors . . . to help the black children."

At this point, the Black United Students stood up and marched out in protest, while the antiwar students, rising as a block, applauded and cheered them for several minutes. HHH commented that the last time anyone walked out on him was in 1948 when he had "pleaded for civil rights." Many in the audience cheered—and screamed racist epithets at the black students.

After the noise had subsided, Jim Veeder of the antiwar movement stood on his chair and shouted out the joint statement of the united front:

"Hubert Humphrey, you have betrayed the American democratic tradition! Bring the troops home now! Free the draftees! End racist oppression! That is the only way that America can be rescued from the shambles your regime has created."

The antiwar students then rose and displayed the banners and posters they had concealed. After a short demonstration, they marched out of the hall chanting, "Bring

the troops home now!" and "Black control of the black community!" About a hundred students from other parts of the audience joined the walkout.

In spite of heckling, the protesters held an impromptu demonstration outside the gym. A black student, Robert Victor Watson, denounced HHH as a hypocritical racist, "the soul brother of Lester Maddox, not of me!"

An ex-Green Beret silenced the heckling of another Vietnam veteran by asking, "Do you want to go back and die for nothing?"

Former Vista volunteer Irv Loibman characterized Vista as "a lot of crap, a way of trapping student activists."

Antiwar Action Joined by 1,500 In Albany, N.Y.

More than 1,500 people demonstrated before the New York State Capitol in Albany April 27 against the Vietnam war, racism and poverty. The demonstration began with a march of several hundred students from St. Mary's Park. The remaining protesters joined the demonstration along the lines of march.

Speakers at the Capitol rally included Sam McDowell and Robert Gene Dobbs of the Brothers, Peter Pollack of Students for a Democratic Society, Carol French of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Vietnam war veterans Ronald Brace and Willie Joe Dobbs.

In her speech, Carol French said, "The war in Vietnam is a dirty war, an immoral war and a murderous war." She added that "the war on poverty is now a war on the poor." Robert Gene Dobbs declared, "There is a reason for rioting and looting. A man who has been denied for 450 years has a damn right to riot and loot if that's what it takes to bring about justice."

Peter Pollack read a statement issued by the Atlanta, Ga., Steering Committee Against Repression. The statement called on the federal government to drop all charges against SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown, who is currently on trial in New Orleans. The statement further accused Lyndon Johnson of violating the U.S. Constitution by permitting Brown to be indicted in the first place.

SOCIALIST FUND

Easy Come, Easy Go

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

"If you have money, you spend it to win. And the more you can afford, the more you'll spend." These pithy words do not refer to winning on horses at the racetrack. They refer to a different kind of race—the presidential race.

None other than Rose Kennedy, mother of Senator Robert Kennedy, candidly confirms that the men most loaded with money have the best chances to get elected to office these days. "The Rockefellers are like us," she added in justification. "We both have lots of money to spend on our campaigns. It's our own money and we're free to spend it any way we please."

Columnist Drew Pearson has disclosed how the Kennedy dynasty has used its wealth to hoist its favorite sons into the White House. In 1960 they set out to "buy primaries." In West Virginia "they saturated the airways with radio and TV spots, made cash contributions to the parishes of Negro

Protestant preachers, and deluged weekly newspapers with political ads. And they won." That was for son John.

In 1968 they did the same for son Bobby in Indiana. TV-radio commercials alone cost a minimum of \$750,000. The Kennedys bought so much time it was "almost impossible for other candidates to buy spots except on smaller radio stations."

The Kennedys have personal assets estimated at upwards of \$300 million. The Rockefellers have much more. We wouldn't mind having a few of their millions so that the Socialist Workers Party candidates could spread the message of socialism to more of the people whose work produced the wealth of these multimillionaire families and their offspring. However, as a party of, for and by the exploited, we are poor.

Our modest fund drive calls for only \$26,000. Will you help us fulfill that amount?

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Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ to help fulfill the \$26,000 Socialist Fund.

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873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

Black Student Actions Hit Many Campuses

By Elizabeth Barnes

The radicalization of black students has reached a new stage this spring with the organization of hundreds of demonstrations, occupations of buildings, and protests of various kinds on campuses around the country.

The total number of protests that have been either led or carried out by black students is unknown—but the figure is somewhere in the hundreds.

Campuses in every area of the country have been affected, including those in the deep South. Revolts have occurred not only at schools which have been traditionally more liberal or radical, but at such institutions as the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville; the University of Miami; A.&T. State University in Greensboro, N.C.; Virginia State College in Petersburg; Fayetteville (N.C.) State Teachers College; and South Carolina State College at Orangeburg, where four students were killed in the now famous "Orangeburg Massacre."

One of the most significant aspects of this student upsurge has been the central organizing role played by the Afro-American student organizations which have sprung up on almost every campus in the country over the past two years. Many of these organizations started out as purely cultural or social groups and have evolved very quickly into vehicles of struggle.

In some areas the Afro-American student organizations, or Black Student Unions as they are often called, have formed city-wide or regional organizations.

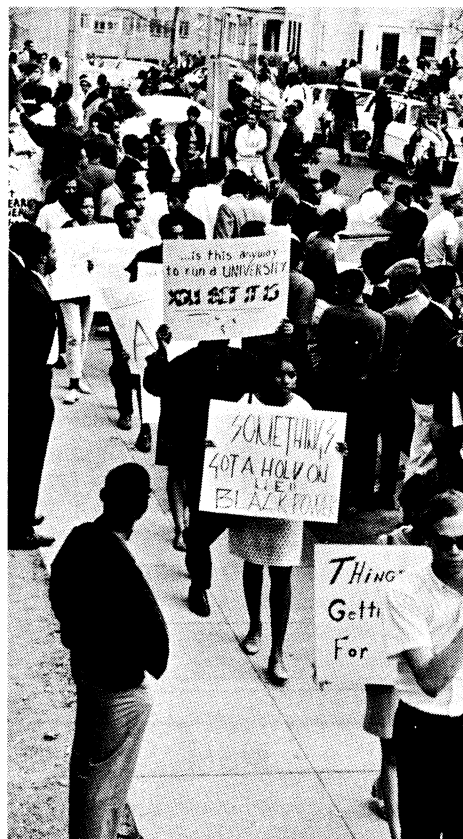
In Los Angeles, Black Student Unions on over 25 different campuses have united to form a city-wide coordinating body, the Black Student Alliance. In New England a regional network of Afro-American student organizations has been set up.

Howard University in Washington, D.C., the most prestigious of the predominantly black schools, was one of the first campuses where students successfully took over a building to dramatize their demands, and in many ways the protest at Howard set the tone for revolts which followed on other campuses.

The students called for an end to Howard's role as an institution dedicated to the production of "whitewashed" black bourgeoisie. They demanded a black curriculum and more student power. One of the central themes of campus discussions during the protest was the need to make Howard a "black university," relevant to the needs and struggles of the black community.

After the assassination of Martin Luther King, the number of black campus protests increased. The reaction to the murder of Dr. King and the growth in the numbers of students involved in the struggles helped put school administrators on the defensive—and many of the protests ended in victories or partial victories for the students.

Although the cops were called in against students in many instances, in the majority of cases they were not.



BLACK STUDENTS MARCH. At Howard University, Washington, D.C., students took over campus March 19-23.



COP CHASES FISK STUDENT. Photo was taken last year in Nashville, Tenn. While cops were often called in during student protests last year, some school administrations in recent wave of protests have feared that calling in police would lead to even greater student militancy.

In addition to the demand for courses in Afro-American history, the most common demands raised by black students at predominantly white campuses were for more black professors, separate living quarters for black students, and the recruitment of more black students through the use of scholarships.

At a number of wealthy, predominantly white universities, the students won their demand for a larger black enrollment. This was the case at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn.; at Wellesley College in Wellesley, Mass.; at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J.; and at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill.

Along with the trend toward black consciousness, some of the protests reflected an awareness of international struggles—especially those in Africa and Vietnam.

Several months of protest activity were kicked off at Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Ala., when, against the explicit request of the students, the administration invited two U.S. State Department officials to speak on campus in defense of the Vietnam war.

During the meeting several students appeared wearing paper bags over their heads and started hurling eggs at the speakers. When the administration moved to suspend a student charged with taking part in this, the whole campus rallied to his defense.

The growth of hundreds of Afro-American student groups on campuses across the country, and their increased militancy, has important implications for the black liberation struggle as a whole.

The black students, who are now one of the most organized sectors of the black population, can help spur and initiate further organization in the black community.

The student radicalization was inspired in the first place by the deep-going radicalization in the black community—and many students see that their primary long-run task is to relate to and participate in the struggles going on in the community as a whole.

At Yale University in New Haven, the Black Student Alliance organized a 90 percent effective boycott by black students "to express our feelings of alienation from Yale, and of outrage and anger at the treatment routinely meted out to black people in this city."

The students specifically opposed the university's participation in urban renewal projects that have moved black people out of their homes to make way for university expansion.

The issue of university expansion at the expense of the black community is one which will probably come up again and again in future protests at the many predominantly white schools located in ghetto areas.

This is one of the major issues that sparked the revolt at Columbia University—and at Columbia one could see clearly how such struggles could lead to alliances between black students, white students and the black community.

There were a number of demonstrations of support for the Columbia students organized in the black community, and people from the community helped provide food for those occupying the buildings.

Columbia Still Simmering

By Dick Roberts

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, May 16—The board of trustees has not been able to break the Columbia student-faculty strike, now in its third week. The university is pretty much closed down and it is evident that there will be no attempt by the administration to restore "normalcy" this semester.

The termination of courses in most cases has been left up to students and faculty members. A number of students have taken the option of receiving "pass" marks in courses, with no grade and no examination.

Meanwhile the university has become polarized between those groups supporting the administration and those on strike. On one side, the administration has set up panels and committees to "investigate" the "problems." These have been taken seriously by a small layer of students and a number of faculty members.

On the other side, the strikers are engaged in consolidating and clarifying the positions of various strike support committees formed two weeks ago. At this point these fall roughly into two groups, the "radicals" and the "moderates."

These forces had been united in the strike steering committee formed during the first week of strike. But at a steering committee meeting last night, they decided to split into separate organizations. The "moderates" are reconstituting themselves as the "Students for a Restructured University" (SRU). The "radicals" are remaining in the Strike Coordinating Committee (SCC).

Both sides wear the red and black strike buttons, support the six demands initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, and are 100 percent on strike. The SRU, however, is more concerned to formulate actual plans for university restructuring and to build student support on the basis of these plans.

The SCC is more interested in maintaining

...Paris Parley

(Continued from page 1)

intensity as proved by the coast to coast explosion following the assassination of Martin Luther King, and with the students moving into action clear down to the high-school level.

The multimillionaire ambassador, W. Averell Harriman, gave no indication of course that he was keeping these facts in mind. Instead, in accordance with the standard procedures of imperialist diplomacy, he sought to give the appearance of holding a winning hand and of being in Paris only out of a generous and humanitarian concern for "peace."

He made five proposals, which if accepted by the other side, would give Johnson the victory. These were as follows:

- 1) Establishment of a "demilitarized" zone with an inspection and control system in which various Asian satellite countries of the U.S. would be "associated."
- 2) Along with this, a complete halt to U.S. bombing raids in the north.
- 3) "Infiltration" routes from the north through Laos to be given up and placed under similar inspection.
- 4) A "staged" withdrawal of U.S. military forces simultaneous with a similar withdrawal of forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from the south. This likewise to be placed under international inspection.
- 5) A political "settlement" in the south, in which the "interested South Vietnamese parties" would be brought in.

These proposals were rejected by the delegates of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as constituting no basis for procedure to the halting of American bombing attacks on their country.

A Vietnamese spokesman, Nguyen Thanh Le, told the press after the first session of the conference: "The U.S. has to definitively and unconditionally cease its bombing raids and all other acts of war on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. That is the primordial and most pressing legitimate demand."

One of the unclear elements is possible behind-the-scenes maneuvers. The desire of the Kremlin to reach some kind of global deal with U.S. imperialism in maintaining the status quo has been indicated in many ways. It is well understood in Washington that the Kremlin would not hesitate in the least to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution or any other revolution for the sake of such an understanding. The capacity of the Kremlin to deliver is quite dubious, however. While the Vietnamese may bow to pressure from Moscow, it is dubious that they will bow so far as to engage in an outright sellout such as Harriman seeks.

the militant struggle against the capitalist board of trustees initiated in the seizure of buildings. It has plans for conducting a "liberation university" during the summer as a center for radical education. And it is making efforts to link the Columbia struggle to other New York struggles, like the fight for black control of black schools in Brownsville.

At Barnard, the girls' college connected with Columbia University, 30 students conducted a sit-in in the president's office to win a reversal in the Linda LeClair case. Miss LeClair had been expelled for violating "housing regulations" by living off campus with a male friend. The sit-in won its victory in less than five minutes.

A measure of the deepened radicalization on the Columbia campus has been the big boost in sales of revolutionary literature by the Young Socialist Alliance. Averaging sales of about \$4 a day before the strike, the YSA reports sales have risen to as high as \$60 in a single day, with high sales every day since the strike began.

Cops Harassing SNCC Workers In Los Angeles

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles police continue to harass the members and staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other black militants here. The most recent incident was on May 3 when the cops broke into a staff member's home, ransacked the house and arrested Stanley Wright of the "Texas Southern University Five" and six SNCC staff members who were there.

They were charged with armed robbery and jailed, with a total bail set of \$42,000. The police confiscated the proceeds of a fundraising party held earlier in the evening. The charges were dropped five days later when the police could produce no evidence.

Those arrested had been active in one of SNCC's main activities, the People's Tribunal, set up to investigate the shooting of an 18-year-old black youth, Gregory Clarke.

Warren Carlsen, the white cop who killed Clarke on Feb. 18, had been exonerated by the official coroner's inquest which called the shooting "justifiable homicide." Because there was testimony from eyewitnesses that the killing was without provocation and since many angry black people jammed the room where the inquest was being held, the coroner's jury split 4-3.

The People's Tribunal met in South Park on March 17 with hundreds of residents of the black community present to hear all the evidence and reach a verdict. There was testimony by witnesses and the reading of the transcript of Carlsen's testimony at the coroner's inquest (Carlsen had been invited to present his case before the assembled representatives of the black community but declined). The Tribunal of eight judges representing militant black organizations, and the others present, found Carlsen "guilty of murder" and sentenced him to death.

Among the demands of the People's Tribunal were that Carlsen be tried for murder, the coroner's inquest system be revised and that police in the black community be disarmed. The Tribunal has succeeded in getting a hearing before a subcommittee of the city council, and is attempting to get a hearing before the full council.

During these last few months since SNCC moved into its office on West Jefferson Boulevard there has been steady surveillance and harassment by police in marked and unmarked police cars. People leaving the office have been spotlighted by police beams, stopped, picked up for "questioning" and later released.

While most of the staff was attending memorial services for Dr. Martin Luther King on April 5, cops broke into the office. They destroyed \$5,000 worth of printing equipment; stole files of contributors, volunteers and members; took several hundred copies of a poster of "Carlsen the Cop—Wanted for Murder"; squirted mimeo ink on the floor; broke a bottle of drinking water and left small carpet tacks in a kettle of food that was to be eaten later in the evening. They also stole 100 tickets for a theater party for the movie, "The Battle of Algiers."